5: Crowder J-5 (1955-1961) 1962
MS37 Senegal MS37
Wolof MS30

The French sociologist Mercier has already remarked the fundamental homogeneity of Senegal's main ethnic groups, which 'Whatever their cultural differences and whatever their traditional hostility to one another (which has by no means completely disappeared) all had the same type of social and political organisation.'

Of the major groups the Wolof and the Lebou are for all intents and purposes indistinguishable, the Lebou being the Wolof-speaking inhabitants of the Cape Verde peninsula. The Serer are also very closely related to the Wolof, being considered as tribal cousins. The Toucouleur, Serer and Fula are traditionally connected, it being held that the Toucouleur are the result of an ancient mixing between the Serers, with whom they have a strong joke-relationship, and the Fulas whose language is very close to their own. Thus nearly three-quarters of the population have closer historical and ethnic connexions than exist in any other area of West Africa save Hausaland in Northern Nigeria. With the exception of the Serers, of whom a substantial minority is Christian, these people are almost exclusively Muslim. They also tend today to use Wolof as a lingua franca. Even the Diola, from the Casamance, which is in many ways a minority area of Senegal, especially because it is cut off from the north by the Gambia, have strong traditional connexions with the Serer and assert in effect that they are descended from the same ancestor. This leaves only the Mandingo people out of the pattern and as we shall see they do tend to be a minority group in Senegal.

There is thus at the basis of Senegalese society an indigenous homegeneity that is nothing to do with the French policy of assimilation, and which has been greatly encouraged by a common adherence to Islam, where Marabouts or religious leaders of one tribe have considerable influence over Muslims of other ethnic origins.

The French administration, however, through its policy of direct rule did in fact make one major contribution towards

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French. The Moors are an obvious exception to this, as P. Dubié has pointed out. Though they work in all the major towns of Senegal they have retained complete identity of tribal customs, even maintaining abroad the traditional hostilities between their own tribal subdivisions. The tribal structure of Dakar, which is the most heavily industrialised single city in West Africa, gives an idea of the common melting pot that the new cities and towns in Senegal represent: Wolof constitute 25 per cent; Lebou, the original inhabitants, 15 per cent; mixed Wolof-Lebou, 11 per cent; Serer, 3 per cent; Bambara, 9 per cent; Toucouleur, 10 per cent; Fula, 5 per cent; Moors, 4 per cent; Diola, 5 per cent; Soussou, 2 per cent; Cape Verdians 2 per cent. The result is that the inhabitants of Dakar are forced to learn some form of *lingua franca*, in this case Wolof or French, if they are to live in the city.

In the modern economy of the city, where one seeks work where work is and where housing is short and expensive, it is difficult for any of these groups to keep up any pretence at tribal solidarity. However, as Schapera has shown, it is possible for the African migrant working in industry 'to maintain two quite distinct spheres of human relations. The African who leaves his tribe to go and work in the town will take part in the social organisations, e.g. trade unions, he finds there, but these will affect him only as a factory worker, and will have no place in the subsistence economy which is governed by traditional tribal and social relationships. The two spheres are distinct spatially as wellas socially, and despite the exchange of ideas between them they remain none the less parallel.'

In Dakar this is particularly true of the immigrant Toucouleur from the Vallée du Fleuve, as A. Diop shows in his excellent study of Toucouleur immigration to Dakar. But it should be noted here that the Toucouleur are not permanent emigrants from their areas, and have only come to Dakar temporarily to supplement the low incomes of the Vallée du Fleuve. Permanent settlers without the ultimate

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125 such as caste and the degree of kinship of each actual union [8].

[143] In this region the person questioned, mostly in public, did

[565] not make any difficulty about declaring to which caste he be-

[124] longed. Moreover, this is known by all the inhabitants of the village and has such social importance that if one asks a child in the street, "Who are you?" he replies, "I am of such and such a caste." As for the degree of kinship of the spouses, a previous study among the sedentary Peul of the Fouta Djallon [9] has shown that it was possible to obtain this without a cumbersome demographic investigation; the individuals are well acquainted with the fact in regions where consanguineous unions are the custom.

The investigator asks whether or not the woman is married to a near relative, and, in the case of an affirmative answer, if the spouses have the same grandfather or grandmother (fourth degree) or in what other way they are related. A total number of 6,208 married women were questioned in this manner, and in order to correct possible errors of observation in such a sample, a control was established in a subsample of 382 sedentary couples by noting the names of the parents, grandparents, and eventually great-grandparents. At this stage there is uncertainty, but this can be removed only by laboriously working out genealogies. That is why the proportion of marriages to the sixth degree, which we indicate below and which are beyond the kinship ties known with sufficient accuracy, are perhaps more important in reality.

563 The ethnic groups. The region studied contains 341,000 inhabitants divided into five principal ethnic groups: Moors, Toucouleur [Tukuler], Peul, Saracolé [Sarakole], and Wolof (Table I). The ethnic groups are distinguished by such characteristics as the way of life, social structure, group consciousness,

[186] the name given them by other groups, and language, except for

[197] the Peul and the Toucouleur, who speak the same language, Poular. Aside from the Moors, the population is grouped in five

[361] port cities and 800 villages and communities.

[162] The Toucouleur form the largest aggregate (187,000 persons) and occupy the center of the region on the two rivers. The

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563 term Toucouleur often erroneously designates all the inhabitants of the Fouta Toro; we shall use it here in the way the Toucouleur speak of themselves, namely, Halpoularen (speaking the lan-
[197] guage of the Peul), distinct from the Wolof, who have their own language, and from the Saracolé, who speak a Mandé dialect.

/668/ Downstream the boundary between the Wolof and the Toucouleur is not clearly defined and several Wolof villages have been established in the very heart of Toucouleur country and
[186] have preserved their ethnic individuality. They are regarded as foreigners. It is the same upriver on the part of the Saracolé.

The Peul live in the midst of the three groups mentioned
[195] above, and the Peul ethnic group in the valley of the Senegal is itself composed of several waves /nappes/ which have successively spread throughout the region. The oldest are also the most sedentary and the most Islamized (Foulbé walo) and have a way of life very much like that of the Toucouleur, with whom they sometimes intermarry. The others, who have come more re-
[221] cently (Foulbé Diéri), are seminomads and only in winter culti-
[162] vate the sands of the hills which border the valley (Diéri). There
[613] is a total of 47,000 Peul in this region, but we do not know the
[175] actual number of each wave, itself divided into relatively endogamous lineages /lignages/ or pseudo-lineages. The latter, designated by the administration as communities, served as census units for the Peul, while for the others this unit was the village. The location of these communities often changes because of the seminomadic character of the Peul way of life, which is devoted principally to livestock-raising.

[162] Among the 56,000 Moors, although some of them (6,000) are settled in the river ports, the majority merely meet on the Mauritainian shore and only part of the year; they camp there
[221] during the dry season in order to cultivate the alluvial soil (walo), and they return after the harvest to camps sometimes located several dozen kilometers from there. These farmers for the most part are Haratin of the black race, that is to say, ancient serfs of the Moors, from whom they continue to lease land.

125 Since they occupy a very marginal position in relation to the totality of the inhabitants of the valley, they will not be studied here. /Table I appears here./